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EXORCISM

The preliminary service at the house is much the same for all *uepotara*, the chief difference being in the name of the evil spirit to be overcome. In the one I shall describe it was Pauchi Kamui, who is usually held responsible for insanity or violent hysteria. He is notorious as the instigator of epidemics of frenzied dancing. The account of a serious outbreak of dancing mania,[1] which occurred about two centuries ago, was related to me by several elders, as it had been passed down to them by their ancestors.

As in all ceremonies, Kamui Fuchi is first approached; she is told of the trouble and her help is besought. Next, Mintara-koro Kamui and Ru-koro Kamui, the spirits of the yard and the privy, are invoked, as well as Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, at their respective *nusa*. Then elaborate preparations are made by the river: first, a backward-shaven *inau* is inserted for Mintuchi Kamui, a freshwater nymph, and upstream from it six groups of four-winged *inau* are set up in the water at the river's edge. These are made of alder and are about eight inches high. The *inau* furthest upstream, the chief, is taller than the others, and has some distinguishing mark, sometimes a piece of wood tied to it to represent a sword, in this case a piece of cloth. They are called evil *inau* because they repel evil, or abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. These *inau* are made of elder and only have four wings, in distinction to other winged *inau*, which may have from six to nine. They are set at an angle so that they point towards the river. The next *inau* upstream from the chief is a backward-shaven one for Chiu ra-pe Mat, the female spirit of the undercurrent. Then comes the *nusa* of the three great Ainu *kamui*; its winged *inau* are made of willow. At the lower end of this *nusa* a sword is hung for the officiating *ekashi*; it is said to act as a messenger from Kamui Fuchi. At the upper end there is a backward-shaven *inau* for Chiu ra-pe Guru, the male spirit of the undercurrent. Six Houses of Evil are set up at short intervals, in a line, at a right angle to the river's edge. These are reed arches, about four feet high, with some hollow-stemmed *Polygonum sachalinensis* (*kuttara*) tied to the apex. Hollow stems of this plant are also used as traps to catch ghosts and spirits of pestilence; small boats are made of them to provide spirits with a means of return to their abode after they have been invoked in a rite. Here they serve as an exit for Pauchi Kamui when the arches are set on fire. On either side of

[1] See Appendix, p. 160.

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APPENDIX I

Translation of *Uebekere* (legend):

539. *Uepekan and the doings of Pauchi Kamui.*

In a region of the Ishikari river was a person called Uepekan. News came to Uepekan that flighty flockings of the folk in his village were being roused by Pauchi Kamui. Behind this [mischievous glamouring by Pauchi] he was, as it were, the trigger cord of a spring-bow set in ambush, the thread of a spider [awaiting its prey]. He alone of all the Ainu could see the outstretched line of the spring-bow, the slightest touch of which must be warily shunned. He felt keen family anxiety for his relatives who could not keep clear of it. By invoking the gods, this evil, after long and wearisome struggle, finally disappeared.

After it had been entirely driven out of his district, there appeared before him a lovely woman, with face illumined as if by lightning, who tripped laughingly—yes laughing!—up to him. [This supernatural being was no other than the chief retainer of the deluding deity, Pauchi. Her wiles having been set at naught by the insight and strength of Uepekan, she had come to love him.] Thus she spake:

"Ainu master, my heart is far too strongly touched [for a goddess]. I can resist no more. To me it seemed good to have amusement [of dancing] with you. But this cannot be since you have made it impossible. Master, I must now expose my body, hitherto seen by no mortal man, that I may prove my true wish to abide peacefully with you as your wife for ever. Do listen to me!"

(Answered Uepekan):

'If it be as you say, divine maid in human form, I worshipfully am willing. My divine wife having shown her own body to prove her true choice, I shall evermore be thankful.'

Thereafter, when Uepekan took a long walk to any place in summer, a heavy but passing shower of rain visited it before his arrival. In winter, before he reached his destination, it was visited by a violent though quickly ceasing storm of wind and hail.

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786 *An account by Munro of the dancing mania:*

Allowing for slight variations in individual accounts there is remarkable unanimity in the statements given by *ekashi*. Sporadic outbursts are said to have occurred; the most widespread and violent epidemic was between two and three centuries ago, counting roughly by generations. It seems to have spread like wild-fire. Men and women under an irresistible mimetic impulse 'rose like flocks of birds'. Leaping and

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dancing together they kept up their frenzied saltations to the point of complete exhaustion. Some are said to have died from fatigue, others to have danced into the hills and forests, sometimes perishing there. Discarding clothes, even women are said to have danced naked or almost so, whereas under normal conditions Ainu women would have killed themselves rather than expose their persons. Apart from feminine modesty, this is credible, since every Ainu woman wore a secret girdle. . . . But prohibitions counted for nothing while mob contagion pursued its flighty course. As in Europe, sexual licence is said to have occurred. . . . I was told by an *ekashi* that hunting, fishing and house-work were neglected, and abandoned children and adults died from inanition. For the time being, the established order of customs and mutual relations was disorganized. Wherever the epidemic spread, the same phenomena prevailed, closely resembling those in Europe but seemingly much exaggerated.

What circumstances conspired to start that amazing bolt from self-control and social restraint? The Ainu attribute it to a mischievous spirit, Pauchi Kamui, glamouring them and enticing them to their doom . . . but modern psychology teaches us to examine the conditions which may lead to emotional outbursts. The dancing mania of the Ainu followed upon an experience of enforced servitude . . . when their island came under the domination of the Matsumae daimyos. . . . Its resources were exploited by commandeering the Ainu—young women as well as men—for fishing and other enterprises, while those permitted to hunt had to pay heavy tribute in skins. . . . The Ainu, poorly armed and undisciplined, had no chance against samurai, whose swords put the fear of death on all who did not obey. . . .

Imu. The following is compiled from Munro's notes:

Munro studied twelve cases of *imu*, a form of psychoneurosis common among women. The usual symptoms are: eye trouble, headaches, neuralgia, and functional paralysis, accompanied by dreams and compulsive actions. The usual procedure is for a woman to consult a *tusu*, and a frequent diagnosis is that the illness is due to possession by an evil snake spirit. In that case, after Kamui Fuchi has been invoked, the snake spirit is called, either as Kinashut Kamui or as Nusa-koro Kamui. In the north, transmutation to *imu* condition may be sudden: in the south the process is more gradual. A snake image is made of curled shavings, and purification is performed with it (see Pl. XXI, fig. 3). When exorcism is finished, the subsequent outpouring of emotion is comparable to conversion. The patient is considered cured, but she retains *imu* behaviour. This behaviour (see Chapter IX, p. 108) is said not to be permanent, but in the twelve cases Munro examined it